/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her añapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

● 251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[526] [178] The game of mboto represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 78]

341/

526 178 243 789 In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Caipipendí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

343 ● 251

Fig. 9. Corncrib on piles (avatió). Ivu. (Photo. A.M.)

526 178 243 789 game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Machareti mission. Only a few years ago mboto was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertance or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mbotó.

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The game of mbotó has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 168).

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Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

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This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

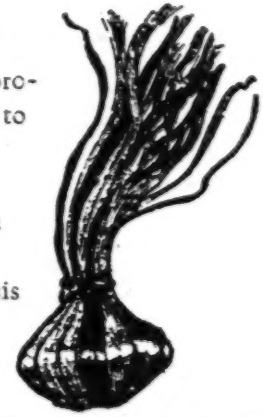

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mbotó), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Carurutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

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1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/349 cont./

556 [435] [439] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if

[229] [482] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some C [415] [281] Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four: the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River, and the Acero. The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the southeast. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of [135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters: these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P. Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible, because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/, and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then 226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses, and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff themselves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to • [251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen: they fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes [438] there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece, [435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners: those with narrow mouths, in which the chicha must ferment, lean vertically against the walls: the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners: small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with Ivi, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824]

1. The Ivi is a species of ceiba, samuu, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called Cuari or Tayipiruru, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called Iviru guasu: it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

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Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taiety, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons. Yeruti, turtledoves. Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types: the meat of the Tatuapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

• [251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224 231 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their house: have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizo, and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

6: Nordenskiöld--27 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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/177 cont./ one also sees hammocks in the huts but they are not common. The hammock is native to tropical South America, but it disappears toward the south and in the mountains, for there it is too cold to use it. /Figs. 85 and 86 appear here./

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Fig. 84a. Maize granary. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

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From the roof of the hut, on hooks and racks, hang clothing and provisions, medicine, and other things. Here the men also keep their bows and arrows, their drums, and similar things. Maize ears are hung by liana loops.

When I offered a Chacobo a /182 cont./ cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukin." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. [232] [824] [126] [824] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 17 [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

/78 cont./

C 273 removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [237] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (287).

287. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251 The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (288). According to Niño (289), formerly meat

288. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C [113] 289. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana, La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (290).

290. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501 ooo Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (291). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.